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IF THE WORLD WARS AGAIN

By . . .
ROY L. SMITH, D. D., Litt. D.
Pastor of . . .
First Methodist Episcopal Church
Los Angeles

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IF THE WORLD WARS AGAIN

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If the World Wars Again

THE WORLD WAR, beginning in 1914, took America by surprise. Three thousand miles of the Atlantic, and our traditional policy of isolation, had separated us almost completely from European affairs for more than a hundred years. American newspapers carried comparatively little foreign news, and such as did appear was written by foreign press bureaus. Not more than a half dozen American papers maintained foreign correspondents who could furnish reliable European news written from the American viewpoint.

The number of Americans who had travelled abroad, up to 1914, was relatively small. Such information as they brought back was limited, usually, to descriptions of cathedrals, Swiss scenery, Greek ruins or French theaters. Colleges and universities offered few courses in contemporary European history, and the net result was widespread ignorance of the trends of thought in the outside world. The European mind was almost unknown to the American mind.

Trained, as we had been, in the American system of government by which public policies are openly discussed, and by which the government itself is made keenly sensitive to the thought and will of the people, we were unaware of the methods by which European governments kept their people in ignorance of secret alliances, treaties, agreements and deals. We did not know, for instance, that governments lied to their people. We believed that the word of honor of a great nation was something sacred. We did not understand, either, the way in which the money of one nation was able to manipulate the politics of other nations. We knew nothing of French investments in north Africa, British investments in the Orient, or German investments in Asia and Africa. The Belgian Congo was only a name, to us, usually associated with some missionary venture. Most of us had never heard of the "Berlin to Bagdad railroad" with its far-reaching political implications.

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The net result of all this ignorance was stark amazement in America when the war actually broke out. We could not believe it had happened, and we never dreamed that it could last nearly five years and involve the whole world. We knew nothing of the feverish preparations that had been going on for years. We had had no comprehension of the significance of the sinister events that multiplied in Europe, and which were usually printed on the inside pages of our American newspapers. The assassination of a crown-prince of whom we had never heard, in a province we could not locate on the map, and in a town whose name we could not pronounce had absolutely no meaning to us. Whatever we knew about European history had happened previous to 1850.

We were swept into the conflict by deceptions and subterfuges. We knew nothing of the real causes of the war, and their economic ramifications. Our sense of justice was outraged by the rape of Belgium, because we were in ignorance concerning the system of secret treaties then in vogue in Europe, with its alliances and theoretical "balance of powers." We had no way of knowing, for instance, of the manipulation of French and Italian public opinion by newspapers of Paris and Rome, secretly purchased by the Russian government. Moreover, we did not know that the European governments maintained elaborate press and propaganda bureaus in New York, Washington and Chicago, for the purpose of filling the American press with doctored news and highly colored information. We, therefore, accepted the news reports as being true, became the victims of every form of misinformation, and never discovered the real facts and issues involved until long after the war was over. War was declared at a moment when the emotions of the nation were deeply stirred, consequently we did not stop to verify our evidence, or make sure of our facts.

If the world wars again, however, we will be unable to take refuge behind the claim of ignorance. We know, now, how propaganda works. We know, too, something about the political alliances, economic influences and financial interests by which Europe is moved. But even more important, we know certain signs by which the conflagration will be accompanied and are able to safeguard ourselves. If we neglect these warnings we have no one to blame but ourselves if we become involved. If

the world wars again, therefore, there are at least ten major facts that must be faced by every American.

1. WE WILL BE FLOODED WITH PROPAGANDA

Most of us recall very vividly the stories of atrocities with which we were fed previous to America's entry into the last war—babies nailed to barn doors, women with their breasts cut off, children with their hands severed, pregnant women ripped open by bayonets, fat recovered from the burning of human bodies, etc., etc. The nation's most moving orators went up and down the land telling them; newspapers and magazines were filled with them; no photograph was too gruesome for publication. No one can estimate the effect upon American public opinion of these horror-tales.

We now know, however, that they were, for the most part, entirely untrue. We know, for instance, of the existence of press bureaus which made it their business to supply to the various warring governments these faked and doctored photographs, and we know how the same identical photographs were published as "actual atrocities" on both sides of the battle lines. In Germany they were labelled as "British" and in France, England and America they were "authentic" instances of German fiendishness.

If the record was not so fresh in our minds, it would be almost impossible to believe that the governments of the world lied to their own people as they did. Official announcements were made with all solemnity which did not have a word of truth in them. As an illustration, there was the published report of an American naval engagement on the first Fourth of July, after our entrance into the war, in which it was declared, by the official government "Committee on Information," that the Americans had won a glorious victory. A day or two afterward it was discovered to be a stupid hoax, but the American newspaper reporter in France who did his duty and reported to his managing editor that he could find no evidence of such an engagement was thereafter refused the privilege of the cables, and had to come home discredited.

George Seldes, a veteran journalist, tells in painstaking detail in a carefully documented volume entitled "The Freedom of the Press," the story of governmental control of European news

agencies. There is no nation in Europe, out of which we can get reliable news, except England and the Scandinavian countries, on account of the censorship. The writer of these lines numbers among his personal friends several foreign correspondents with long and honorable records, who have been ordered out of various European countries because they dared to tell the truth in the reports they sent to American newspapers. Nowhere, outside of the countries mentioned, is there anything remotely resembling a free press. The writer holds in vivid memory a conversation with an Italian editor that lasted far into the night, in which this brilliant young journalist said, "There is no satisfaction in editing a newspaper in Italy. We print only what the government permits—nothing more. We do not dare have an opinion of our own."

If the world wars again, therefore, we may be sure that no news coming out of Europe will be trustworthy reporting of the facts. We will be fed, again, on those stories the various governments furnish us, and they furnish that news, only, which is calculated to produce one opinion. To attempt to reach a fair or just judgment, based on such information, is manifestly impossible. But we may be sure that America will be flooded, again, with the most pernicious propaganda, based on such unreliability.

The various European governments, in addition to their official press bureaus, maintained in America for the purpose of influencing public opinion, will be ably assisted by their nationals who are already living among us. The power and influence of these nationals is well known in every newspaper office in the land. In Hollywood, for example, the chamber of commerce planned, a year or two ago, to use the flags of all nations for Christmas decorations up and down the main boulevard. No sooner was the announcement made than the secretary of the chamber of commerce began getting calls from various organized groups of aliens, demanding that first one flag and then another should not be displayed. Finally, in order to prevent violence, it became necessary to change the plans and use Christmas candles instead. It is not difficult to imagine the disturbances that may follow, as a result of the activities of such groups, if the world wars again. All the hatreds of Europe have been transplanted to American soil, and only await another conflict to

burst into flames. Every one of these groups of nationals besieges the editor in an effort to persuade him to publish their own news distortions. It is the solemn duty of every loyal American, therefore, to exercise the utmost care lest he be swept off his feet by propaganda.

2. THE NEXT WAR WILL BE A "DEFENSIVE WAR"

If the world wars again, the forces seeking to involve the United States in the conflict will use every device of the publicist to justify our participation, on the grounds that it is a "defensive war."

As a matter of fact, every war is represented to all participants as a "defensive" war. Only thus can men be persuaded to endure the horrors of battle. So artfully will the facts be presented that the most aggressive and brutal action will be represented as "defensive." An excellent illustration of the results of this technique has just occurred in Italy when Italian parents stood at the docks in Naples, and watched their sons sail nearly two thousand miles away to rain death and destruction on Ethiopians, believing that these sons were going out to "defend" Italy. The Japanese, in Japan, with whom this writer has talked, believe that the Japanese army in Manchuria and north China, is "defending" the homeland.

In order to justify the United States' entry into the world war in 1917, we were assured that our ships had been attacked at sea, that our national honor had been insulted, that a vast spy-system was undermining the American government, that no man's home, person or property was safe. When the German submarine, the "Deutschland," arrived in the harbor of New York, having successully evaded the allied blockade in European waters, we were precipitated into a bad case of national jitters. We were sure that no Kansas wheatfield or California orange grove was safe from German submarine attack, and that it was necessary to send five million men, three thousand miles across the Atlantic, to defend our homes.

The stage is even now being set for depicting a war on Japan, or Mexico, as a "defensive war." Super-heated congressmen, safe behind congressional immunity, have screamed about "one hundred and fifty thousand armed Japanese on the Pacific coast" all ready to rise up and slaughter the population,

and the "heavily armed" fishing boats which are about to destroy our "second-to-none" navy off the California or Mexican coast. In the meantime, the average American does not take the trouble to learn that the total Japanese population in the United States is less than one hundred thousand, of whom not more than fifteen thousand could possibly be of military service.

At the same time, thousands of individuals who never darken the doors of a church in the United States, are lashed into a fury over the fact that churches in Mexico are closed, and are insisting that we should intervene in the domestic affairs of that hard-pressed land in "defense" of the sacred name of liberty and freedom.

Every misfortune of any American tourist in the Orient is interpreted as a case of Japanese "hatred" of America. Every time a Japanese manufacturer undersells an American manufacturer, we are given fresh warnings of the "inevitable conflict" that is coming in "defense of American trade rights." An abundance of "evidence" is being manufactured with which to persuade the people of the United States that it will be necessary to send millions of men, eight thousand miles across the Pacific, to "defend" American rights and dignity. In the meantime we forget that Japan is our very best customer, buying more than seventy per cent. of our export cotton, besides hundreds of millions of dollars worth of steel, oil, and other products.

3. IT WILL BE AN ECONOMIC WAR

When all the glamor and glory are stripped away from war, we discover it to be, in its simplest terms, an economic struggle.

The nations of the world, today, are divided into the "haves" and the "have-nots." Ours is an industrial age, and any nation that maintains itself in a position of power must have raw materials for manufacture, and a market in which to sell its manufactured products. It is the only possible way in which a people can share in the benefits of modern industry.

The gold of the world is owned by the United States, Great Britain and France. The iron, oil and coal of the world are owned by Russia, Britain and the United States. Germany,

Italy, and Japan—struggling to maintain themselves as world powers—are in dire need. A Germany without gold reserves, colonies, or natural resources, will not be satisfied to accept a position of second-rate power, without a struggle. Italy, without credits or raw materials, will not be content to accept the crumbs that fall from rich nations' tables. Japan, with her overcrowded land and her paucity of natural resources, has begun, already, to take what she needs from China. The United States has one-half of the world's resources. England and France have the rest of the gold, and most of the colonies of the world. Russia's threat is in her vast undeveloped resources. When her mines and oil fields have been sufficiently developed, she will become the fourth of the nation-capitalists of the world. There can be no world peace until there has been some distribution of the world's resources that permits all the people of the world to enjoy the benefits of the riches God has stored in the earth. It is the struggle for existence that is forcing the next war upon us.

When the United States entered the last war, we were assured by the most representative, and most trusted, Americans, that we were in to "make the world safe for democracy," to "make a war that would end all wars," etc., etc. Every fine and noble phrase was used for the purpose of investing the conflict with the robes of righteousness. It was almost treason, then, to assert that any other motive persuaded us to war on Germany.

While it is true that noble and virtuous ideals persuaded the people to fight, it is also true that the underlying causes of the war were economic. In 1917, almost immediately after the declaration of war, it was rumored that President Wilson had received a cablegram from the American Ambassador to Great Britain, to come into the war to save American investments with the allies. Germany made the charge outright, but could not supply the evidence. In 1933 Father Coughlin included, in one of his radio talks, what he declared was a portion of the cablegram. In 1934 the Nye Committee, investigating the munitions business, gave to the public the text of the cablegram. The following are the most important paragraphs of that famous message from Ambassador Walter Hines Page, to President Woodrow Wilson:

"The pressure of this approaching crisis, I am certain, has gone beyond the ability of the Morgan financial agency for the British and French governments . . . it is not improbable that the only way of maintaining our present preeminent trade position and averting a panic is by declaring war on Germany.

". . . pressing danger that the Franco-American and Anglo-American exchange will be greatly disturbed; the inevitable consequences will be that orders by all the Allied governments will be reduced to the lowest possible amount, and that transatlantic trade will practically come to an end.

"The result of such a stoppage will be a panic in the United States . . . We shall soon reach this condition unless we take quick action to prevent it. Great Britain and France must have a credit in the United States which will be large enough to prevent a collapse of world trade and the whole financial structure of Europe.

"If the United States declares war on Germany, the greatest help we could give Great Britain and the Allies would be such a credit. If we should adopt this policy, an excellent plan would be for our government to make a large investment in a Franco-British loan. Another plan would be to guarantee such a loan. A great advantage would be that all the money would be kept in the United States.

"We could keep on with our trade and increase it, till the war ends, and after the war Europe would purchase food and an enormous supply of materials with which to re-equip her peace industries. We should thus reap the profit of an uninterrupted and perhaps an enlarging trade over a period of years, and we should hold their securities in payment."

Read that cablegram through again and find, if you can, any noble sentiment about making the world safe for democracy. True, there is a marked concern about the safety of Morgan investments, but there is no word about the safety of any American home! The cablegram was dated March 5, 1917, and on April 6, 1917, the United States declared war! If the world

wars again, we may be assured that American boys will be enlisted—yes, conscripted—to make the world safe for profits!

It is true that the charge was made, during the last war, that "big business" had caused the entrance of the United States into the war. But all those who made such charges *during* the war were either jailed or subjected to an angry public's terrorism. But on September 5, 1919, *after* peace was declared, President Wilson, himself, admitted that the war had been, fundamentally, an economic war, and then added, "every war has been."

If the world wars again, the fundamental causes, again, will be economic, and the American people must be prepared to go to the bottom of the claims of noble purpose with which the advocates of war proclaim their plans, and discover the underlying economic implications. If we are ever fooled again, by this profession of virtue, it will be our own fault. We know, now, the economic ramifications and influences operating to plunge the world into war.

4. IT WILL BE FOSTERED BY THE MUNITIONS MAKERS

The average earnings of the duPonts, from 1910 to 1914, were six millions of dollars per year. From 1914 to 1918, their earnings averaged fifty-eight millions per year. In some of their operations, according to the facts brought out by the Nye Committee, their profits amounted to as much as several hundred per cent., and in at least one instance they refused to begin the manufacture of certain much-needed supplies until the government would guarantee them the profit they demanded. Imagine, if you can, a private soldier in the front line striking until his pay was increased! Remember, too, that much of the financial backing of the Liberty League comes from these ardent "patriots."

The Bethlehem Steel Company, during the years of 1910 to 1914 earned profits averaging six millions of dollars per year, but from 1914 to 1918 their profits increased to an average of forty-nine millions per year. The United States Steel,

[1] For a complete description of this cablegram, and the way the revelation was handled by the American newspapers, see "The Freedom of the Press," by George Seldes, (Bobbs Merrill publishers) page 117-119.

however, did not do nearly so well, increasing their profits from one hundred and five millions per year to a paltry two hundred and fifty millions. Meanwhile, the earned profits of Anaconda Copper went from ten to thirty-four millions in the same years while Utah Copper climbed from five millions to twenty-one millions per year, earned profits.[1]

Back in 1914 the American people knew nothing of the international munitions business, with English, French and German investments in the manufacturing plants of all the nations. We did not know, for instance, of French investments in the great Krupp Corporation of Germany, nor of German investments in Snyder-Creuzot of France. Neither did we know how certain ship-builders, by selling submarines to one nation were able to frighten other nations into buying more of their undersea boats, thus starting an armament race.

The average American, previous to 1920, knew nothing of the way in which munitions makers had been creating war scares for the purpose of stimulating the sale of their death dealing apparatus. He did not know, for instance, that governments could be frightened into the purchase of vast military stores by rumors of military activity in neighboring nations—rumors which were seldom investigated. Nor did he know that war scares were invented for the newspapers in order that the public might be aroused to demand military preparations, or prepared for huge military and naval appropriations. To one who has followed events of the last fifteen years in our American Congress, an anti-Japanese speech by certain congressmen is a well-recognized warning that a new appropriation bill for military expenditures is soon to come up for consideration. Certain newspapers and legislators may be depended upon to create a Mexican crisis, likewise, if the askings of the War Department are liable to be subjected to serious public scrutiny.

The extent to which such pressure is laid upon the government may be guessed from the fact that twenty-one thousand individuals, according to the income tax statements they filed with the government, came out of the last war as new millionaires. It is probably unnecessary to even suggest the influence

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[1] For an extended presentation of these facts, see "War Is a Racket," by Smedley Butler, page 11 ff.

that such a lure of profits can have on American public opinion in the event of another war. This is not to say, of course, that those who hope to make profits out of the next war are entirely without conscience in sacrificing their neighbors' sons. But the billions of potential profits will be a very powerful stimulant to assist the profiteer as he seeks for some noble sentiment with which to justify the conflict.

5. OUR NATIONAL HONOR WILL BE IN DANGER

At no time is a nation so jealous of its national honor as in wartime. The American flag can fly over courthouses honeycombed with graft, over slums where little children are robbed of every chance at life, over whole areas given over to sharecropping that amounts to little more than slavery, over a national administration that plays with the welfare of the people, over profiteers, exploiters, industrial tyrants, economic parasites and intolerant bigots, without anyone thinking of the "insult to our national honor." But let some ignorant Mexican kill an American in a liquor brawl, or an inflamed and over-zealous Japanese policeman manhandle an American tourist, and instantly the yellow press, and the yellow public, begin demanding that our national honor be defended.

Indignation aroused over insults to national honor is seldom discriminating. We were told in 1917 that Germany had undertaken to curtail our rights on the seas, that American shipping had been interfered with, and that various other insults had been offered to American honor. The newspapers had little to say, however, about the way in which American shipping was interfered with by the Allied blockade of Germany, of the interference with American mail and cables, of the propaganda in behalf of the Allies that filled our periodicals, of the way in which Allied agents defied the American government, or of the way in which American neutrality was imposed upon again and again at other points.

It is probably safe to say that the whole system of international law breaks down in wartime. One cannot expect the same courtesies from an angry mob as from an orderly metropolitan hotel. A neutral nation that expects to carry on trade, uninterrupted and unembarrassed, in wartime, is expecting the

impossible. To attempt to trade with warring nations is to invite disaster.

American citizens, to the number of less than two hundred, sailing on a British ship, warned in advance of the hazard they were facing, lost their lives through the sinking of the Lusitania. That tragedy, even in wartime, was indefensible. But, to avenge that ruthless act, we spent more than twenty billions of dollars and sacrificed more than seventy-five thousand of our finest youth. Surely there is a better way to defend our honor!

American investments in China amount to something less than three hundred millions of dollars, and our export trade to that troubled land amounts to no more than half of that amount. How many lives of American boys are we entitled to sacrifice for the sake of those investments and that trade in the event of Japan's interference with our rights in the Orient?

No angry individual is entirely sane; neither is a warring nation wholly reasonable. A nation, or an individual, fighting for its life cannot be expected to treat neutrals with impeccable courtesy. The first obligation of the neutrals is to keep their heads. Better to suffer some indignities than to rush into war and mortgage the future for unborn generations.

6. THE WAR WILL BE FOUGHT WITH MACHINES

With the outbreak of the world war we were under the necessity of reviving our whole concept of war. We were accustomed to thinking of it as a question of courage, daring, heroism and moral bravery. We thought of it in terms of the Civil War (which was our last great experience in war) or in terms of the brief Spanish-American war when Roosevelt's Rough Riders charged up San Juan hill.

Between August 4, 1914, and November 11, 1918, however, the whole system of war changed. It is no longer a matter of one courageous man pitted against another man, equally brave. It is cold, inanimate, unfeeling steel and brass pitted against quivering, tender, sensitive human flesh. The principle of mass production has been applied to the problem of slaughter, with no room left for personal bravery.

What is the value, for instance, of human bravery on the part of the individual when bombing planes are dropping high explosives down upon a city from an elevation of fifteen thou-

sand feet? The Ethiopians were among the bravest men, as individuals, in all the world. Man for man, they were among the best fighters the world has known. But there was no way in which their bravery could count against aerial attacks upon their villages and homes.

This writer carries in vivid memory that ghastly pit that was "Hill 108" along the Hindenburg line, in France. Underlaid with mines, it was exploded by the French while something in excess of four thousand German soldiers were swarming over it, and not a man came out alive! No later than the summer of 1936 he saw "pill boxes" in the middle of main streets in Nanking, China, which were said to go down into the earth nearly one hundred feet and which were also said to be connected with a system of underground mines by which the city was surrounded for a radius of twenty-five miles. Imagine pulling an electric switch and blowing up the whole countryside for a distance of twenty-five miles in every direction!

At the close of the world war the Americans had perfected a poison gas so terrible that a few ounces of it, in a closed room, would bring almost instant death to a thousand men. So horrible was this "Lewisite" that, at the close of the war, the entire stock, in lead containers, was hauled out to sea and sunk to the ocean's bed. Since that time, however, the chemists of the world, in the employ of their various governments, have been carrying on research in the field of chemical warfare and, to judge from occasional rumors that come from their laboratories, the new concoctions of death are terrible beyond the powers of the imagination to picture. Added to chemistry as a handmaid of Mars, there is the whole field of radio-active waves. No layman can know, for a surety, that the "death-wave" is not already discovered, and waiting for the outbreak of hostilities to be loosed upon whole populations.

Long before the close of the last war the various combatants had resorted to the use of bacteria, poisoning water supplies, spreading plagues, and devastating whole cities. The great danger, of course, in such a method of warfare, is that the bacteria do not know their master's voice. They attack all combatants with equal frightfulness. Human courage, in the face of infinitesimally small bacteria, is of small avail.

The most serious indictment against war is the fact that

it prostitutes every noble purpose and heroic impulse within the soul of man. It turns a man's love of home and country into hatred of his brother's home and country. It debauches every Christlike instinct and makes the holiest virtues serve the most fiendish purposes. It pits his wit and genius against impersonal machines and renders the most admirable virtues useless, or obsolete. There is no glory of humanity that is not corrupted, and no animalism that is not exalted. If the world wars again the whole race will revert back to the jungle at its worst.

7. THE NEXT WAR WILL INVOLVE THE WHOLE WORLD

The last war started as a comparatively minor conflict between Austria and Serbia, but it eventually reached out and conscripted men from every continent. Tourists, today, will find memorials erected in Swiss villages far up in the Alps, in memory of Swiss boys who died in the war, and *Switzerland was one of the neutral nations!* They died guarding the Swiss borders against the warring nations.

Twenty-five years ago it was declared by students of international affairs, that business interests would not permit another world war. It was believed that the commercial enterprises of the world were so important that business leaders would not permit an interruption of their profit taking. We now know, however, that the farflung commercial interests of the various nations are among the most prolific causes of conflict.

The history of the Ethiopian war will never be complete until the whole story is told of English and Italian rivalry in the oil fields of Irak. It can hardly be a coincidence that Italian victory in Ethiopia came at almost the identical date when England secured control of the second pipeline running from the new fields down to Haifa. Britain's desertion of "sanctions" would be greatly illuminated, doubtless, if we knew all about the control of the oil east of the Mediterranean.

At the close of the Franco-Prussian war, in 1870, the French found themselves without iron or coal. Because of these two lacks, they were compelled to find some other way of maintaining themselves in power among the powers in an industrial age. They therefore turned to fine textiles, light manufactures, art objects and finance. The middle class Frenchman has al-

ways been a thrifty individual, with the result that French bankers have had great sums of savings to invest in some market where the returns were sure and generous. This has meant that France has made heavy loans to the Orient, spent vast sums on enterprises in north Africa and South America, and poured treasure into Indo-China. Anything, anywhere in the world, that puts these investments in jeopardy, will bring France into the conflict.

England, with her world-wide colonial possessions, and with extensive trade relations with every country in the world, is a party to every political problem on the globe. Her stake in Hongkong, Shanghai, Foochow and Tientsin make her a major factor in any conflict in the Orient. Her African colonies, Australia, Canada, and India all thrust her into the very midst of trouble anywhere, and her assumed responsibility for the Mediterranean makes it impossible for her ever to play on the sidelines.

The rising power of Germany, her enmity for Russia, the growing friendliness of Hitler and Mussolini, and French fear of German aggression makes all of Europe a bed of coals ready to burst into flame. Russia's determination to find a warm water port, the building (and double-tracking) of the Trans-Siberian railway, her penchant for intrigue and the lure of Asia all combine to make the Soviet Republics a large factor in any world war. With interests in Europe and Asia, Russia can hardly be expected to hold aloof.

Japan, with her new industrialism, reaching out for the markets of the world, is making political enemies out of economic rivals. Her invasion of the cotton textiles market in India and Africa, her dumping of cheap manufactured goods on the European and American markets, her merchant marine that sails every sea, and her inflamed nationalism make Japan a factor in every capital in the world.

Let one illustration suffice to show the way in which all the nations of the world have a stake in the movements of every nation in the world. If, in the face of added pressure, China should stiffen into resistance to Japanese demands, armed conflict would almost certainly result. This would provide Russia with the opportunity she has been waiting for and Japan would be caught between China and Russia. In the meantime Hitler

would seize the opportunity to attack Russia on the west, Italy would join because of Mussolini's fear of Russia's influence in the Balkans, and France would be drawn in on the side of her allies—Jugoslavia and Greece. We were unsuccessful in avoiding hostilities before: it remains to be seen how much more successful we would be in the event of such a new alignment of powers. Certainly every provocation would be present again which hurled us into the battle lines in 1917.

8. WHOLE POPULATIONS WILL BE INVOLVED

Previous to 1914 non-combatants were accorded certain rights which all combatants were bound to respect. Women and children enjoyed a certain immunity from harm; the aged and the infirm were exempt from military service, and were usually given sufficient warning to allow them to get out of the direct line of fire. But modern warfare makes it impossible to invest the non-combatant with any such guarantees. In fact, if the world wars again, there will be no non-combatants. Every man, woman, and child will be in the front line trenches.

Poison gas, moving like a cloud of death, across the field of battle knows no difference between the wounded and the well. Aerial bombs, dropped from planes two miles in the air are incapable of separating women and children from men. Screaming shells and rumbling tanks know no distinctions of sex, color, age or combativeness.

War, for every nation engaged in it, is a major industrial enterprise. The munitions factories must be kept running at full blast to keep the army at the front supplied. A flow of foodstuffs must be kept always moving toward the front. There is scarcely an individual so helpless that he cannot make some contribution toward "winning the war." This makes every citizen a participant in the military enterprises of the nation.

A major objective of every combatant, therefore, is to break the enemy's "will to war." This can be accomplished, in considerable part, by a campaign of frightfulness. The more horrible the slaughter can be made, the more probable will be the weakening of this "will to war." Soldiers who know that their bravery at the front is no protection for their loved ones at home become utterly demoralized.

When war is waged with tanks, airplanes, poison gas, prop-

aganda, radio, espionage, chemistry, bacteria, canned food, drill presses, submarines, gasoline, rubber, laboratories, paper products, steam shovels and knitting needles there is a place in the ranks for every individual and everyone goes to the front. The death of a grandmother knitting socks for the soldier in the trenches is a loss to the nation as surely as the death of the soldier himself. Every person who performs any service for the nation, whatsoever, is participating in the war. Gone is the day when any distinction can be drawn between combatants and non-combatants. If the world wars again every man, woman and child in the world will be engaged in military service.

9. IT WILL BE THE SUICIDE OF CIVILIZATION

A little party of American tourists were standing out in front of the cathedral of Rheims one afternoon. The great old church bore its battle scars like a dignified veteran. Beautiful statuary, once the pride of the nation, bore the sorry marks of gunfire. Great flying buttresses hung suspended in mid-air, awaiting the workmen (paid by John D. Rockefeller, Jr.) who were to repair them. The great rose window in the west, still glorious in its matchless color, was the sole survivor of a grandeur that had been. A young Dane who had joined the Americans, finally turned to one, and said, "The old church won't stand more than about one more war, will it?" and then, after a moment's pause, added, "But I guess the world itself cannot stand more than about one more war."

The young Dane was right. If the world wars again, it will be the suicide of civilization.

It is the irony of hate, that even the nation that wins a war, loses by winning. Consider, if you will, the evil days upon which the allied nations, in the last war, have fallen. The war that was to have ended war left a heritage of hate that has poisoned every world relationship. Instead of making the world safe for democracy we find the democratic ideal beset by implacable foes on every hand, and making the supreme fight of its existence for the simple right to persist. Meanwhile every nation in the world is loaded with a burden incurred through militarism that is breaking the hearts of the people.

As a famous Englishman said, not so long ago, you cannot teach the whole world to hate, kill, destroy and descend to the

level of the jungle through five long, ghastly years, and then expect it to revert to chastity and saintliness by simply giving the order, "As you were!"

It is true that war offers many opportunities for a display of heroism and unselfishness, but these virtues appear much more amazing in wartime because they are so occasional and temporary. It is impossible to drill men in the gentle art of disemboweling other men with bayonets through interminable years of slaughter, without working eternal damage to their souls. Nor can you feed a nation on stories of bloodshed, slaughter, horror, suffering, hate, death, bestiality and frightfulness and leave its soul and conscience unspoiled.

If the world wars again the jungle will be allied with the laboratory. The lust of the beast will be the law of the land. The world will belong to the cruel, the strong, the ruthless and the barbaric. Everything holy and beautiful will perish, and in its place will come the stench of rotting flesh, the sight of bloated bodies, and the droning of motors far overhead raining death upon that which has already been destroyed.

There will be no room in all the world for love, because love weakens the will to war. Justice will be relegated to the limbo because justice demands reason and war leaves no room for reason. Waste and ruins will take the place of beauty because nothing can be held sacred. Honor will be scorned because honor implies obligation and responsibility, and war recognizes no responsibility higher than the duty to destroy.

Culture, learning, progress and spiritual idealism have been won only after the most exacting toil and incredible sacrifices of the greatest souls of all time. All the accumulated treasures of humanity will be wiped out if the world wars again, and even faith will go about the streets of ruined, devastated cities, mourning for her lost sons and daughters. For if this world can be destroyed by hate, there is no room in it for faith. The lonely survivors will slink in terror from one horrible scene to another, inhabitants of a madman's world.

10. THE CHURCH WILL BE ASKED TO BLESS THE WAR

It seems incredible, now, that some of the things could have been said by any sane person which were said by preachers of

the "Gospel of the Prince of Peace" during the days of the war.[1] After making all due allowance for America's ignorance of the real issues underlying the last conflict, and after crediting the religious leaders of the nation with the fact that they were deceived by those whom they had a right to trust, still the debacle of the Church of Christ was serious enough that organized religion may well go in sack cloth and ashes, repenting of its betrayal of the Prince of Peace.

The explanation of the whole sorry business is in the fact that the pagan mind made up the Christian mind. We were harangued by the apostles of hate, taught hymns of hate, and took our orders from those who put Hill 108 above Calvary.

Paid propagandists filled our ears with stories of atrocities. Press agents gave us distorted information. Popular prejudice was arrayed against the conscientious objector who was pictured as a coward and slacker, and preachers who pleaded for tolerance and love were driven from their pulpits and, sometimes, to prison.

Something of a hint of the fate that awaits conscientious objectors in the next war can be gleaned from the treatment of those students who "struck" against war a few years ago. Popular opinion has softened the methods a little of late, but on the occasion of the first student "strike" against war reports came in from widely separated campuses, telling of police clubbing of strikers, with girl students falling under the clubs of the police alongside of their brothers. It must be remembered that the "strike" occurred in peace time when passions were not fully aroused, and while the public, generally, was still able to think with a degree of sanity. What may we expect, therefore, in that day when the nation's passions have been roused to fury and all the forces of hate and unreason have been turned loose?

If anyone thinks that the Church of the lowly Nazarene can escape in such a day he simply does not know, either the state, the church, or the public. Preachers who dare to cry out against the insanity of war will be branded as "disloyal" and for such there will be no mercy. For the conscientious objector, merciless prison camps will be the kindest fate. Any citizen

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[1] For a humiliating recital of the record of hate, written by the American clergy during the war, read "Preachers, Present Arms."

who attempts to hold back anything—property, sons, daughters, even life itself—will find the soulless state demanding all.

And the Church of Jesus Christ, having blessed the last war, will be called upon to do it again. Make no mistake of it. Mars will accept no divided loyalty. We cannot serve God and mammon. It will be Mars, the god of war, or Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace.

In anticipation of the possibility that the world may war again, the Church of Jesus Christ must make up its mind *now* what position it will take in that day of horror. It is unthinkable that Jesus, Himself, would stand aloof in such a crisis. If the Church which bears His name is to follow in His footsteps it cannot evade such an imperative responsibility.

It will be as impossible for the church to remain neutral in the event of another war, as it seemed impossible for the United States to keep out of the last war. When titanic forces are crushing the souls of men into blood and tears, when the holiest things of life are being prostituted, when the noblest virtues of the race are being debauched, when the most sacred ideals of the human heart are being ravaged, when the hopes of all the future are being buried under the debris of libraries, art galleries, cathedrals and hospitals, when the incense that rises to Mars is the stench of rotting human flesh, then the Church of Jesus Christ cannot keep silence except at the cost of its very soul.

No greater responsibility faces the Christian Church in our generation than the duty of making up its mind, NOW, what it will do in the crisis, and making an announcement of that decision in such unmistakable terms that there can be no possibility of doubt or misunderstanding.

In reaching any such decision, there will be many differences of opinion. It is an unfortunate fact that a vast number of those who call themselves Christians think with the mind of Mars, rather than with the mind of Christ. Economic interests, political affiliations, racial backgrounds and religious prejudices will all be calculated to divert multitudes of Christians from any position the Church might try to take. To secure anything resembling unanimity of opinion is, therefore, impossible, for the simple reason that the church is made up of very human individuals in all stages of salvation.

It is quite probable that the company of those who attempt to maintain the position of the Church most in harmony with the ideals of Jesus will be like another Gideon's three hundred. That need not dismay us. God is never dependent upon majorities. Victory, ultimately, is with the right, not with might.

AN IMMEDIATE PROGRAM

The author of these pages lays no claim to originality, nor to any profundity of knowledge in the field of government or international affairs. He has, however, wandered widely through Europe, Asia and Africa, and observed the rise of new governments, and new political systems through the eyes of a newspaper man as well as those of a clergyman of the Church. He believes it is possible for all loyal, patriotic, Christian Americans to unite behind a program by which, if the world wars again, this beloved land of ours can be kept out of the conflict. At least we will be able to determine the conditions under which we are to be drawn in.

The author is under no delusions as to the probability of any universal approval of his six-point program. Indeed, it does not represent all that he, himself, holds as a personal attitude toward war. But he does believe that it offers a practical basis upon which all Christian Americans can unite. It might, indeed, be called a "minimum peace program" for the churches.

(a) Let it be written into the law of the land, at once, that, in the event of another war, all mines, mills, factories, oil wells, industrial plants and manufacturing establishments shall be conscripted for the national emergency as men are now conscripted for the army.

This proposal was first made by the American Legion, and other veterans' organizations. It implies the payment to the owners of such property of a fair compensation for use during the period of the conflict, and a return of the property at the close of the war in good physical condition. It also insures to the American people complete control over the industrial resources of the nation in time of war, without eighteen hundred per cent. profits being paid to any manufacturer who has a pre-

ferred contract with the government. Let this proposal be enacted into law and two results would be immediate; first, we would be sure that the next war would not end with twenty-one thousand new millionaires, and, second, there would be no incentive for munitions makers and other interested parties to encourage war in the hopes of gaining huge fortunes through the sale of war materials.

(b) Let it be further provided that all citizens shall be put on a military basis, with common laborers paid the pay of private soldiers, foremen as lieutenants, managers as captains, and executives as colonels, majors, etc., according to the importance of the service rendered.

If this proposal can be enacted into law it will make the sacrifices of all citzens measurably equal, reduce the whole enterprise of the war to an equitable basis, and assure the nation that some men will not be getting sixteen dollars a day as sheet metal workers, and other men one dollar a day for facing gunfire.

A further advantage of this proposal lies in the fact that high-salaried executives, without responsibility, will not accumulate fortunes by staying behind in bomb-proof jobs while the less fortunate of their fellows are enduring the horrors of trench warfare.

(c) Let it be written into the enlistment papers of every American soldier that he shall not be required to go one mile beyond the borders of continental United States in the discharge of his duty as a soldier, and that when required to do so, HIS ENLISTMENT AUTOMATICALLY CEASES; the same principle to apply to sailors in the American navy, with due allowance for the necessity of maneuvering ships for the defense of our shores.

Let this proposal be accepted, and we would know, for a surety, that any war in which we were engaged would be a defensive war. At the same time adequate provision is made for defending American homes and property inside the borders of the United States.

(d) Let it be enacted into law that if any American investor desires to send his dollars into another country for investment that he must send them at the risk of their safety under the laws of that country, without dependence upon the promise of sending American boys abroad, as an army, to collect either principal or interest.

The real reason for foreign investments is the hope of higher interest on the money invested than might be expected from a domestic investment. It is only a matter of good sportsmanship, therefore, to insist that the American dollar that is sent away from home to work at higher wages than it can get at home, should be required, in the event of trouble, to get home on its own wings.

More than the principle of the plan, is the moral and political effect it would have on the prospects of war involving the United States. American bankers would scrutinize their loans to warring nations, judging them according to the probable ability of the borrower to pay, rather than on the prospects of American soldiers as collectors of bad accounts.

(e) The fifth point in the program is borrowed, in part, from the peace plan promulgated by Frances Lederer, the famous motion picture star, and in part from the Ludlow bill introduced into Congress during 1935 by Congressman Ludlow of Indiana.

Let it be written into law, at once, that before Congress shall have power to declare war against any nation, the authority for such declaration shall be given to it by a majority vote of the people of the United States, registered in a special election called for that purpose, in which every citizen more than twenty-one years old shall have the right to vote.

By the provisions of the Constitution of the United States the authority to declare war is vested in Congress, which is also responsible for making provisions for financing the war. This means, however, that war is declared by men who do not have to fight it. On rare occasions a congressman will resign his seat in Congress to take his place in the army, but it does not happen often. It means that old men make the wars that young men have to fight.

Even more important, however, is the influence and pressure that can be brought upon a small group of congressmen by special groups which have some selfish interest to serve through the waging of a war. The Nye investigation brought enough facts to light to show how susceptible Congress has been to these influences in the past. But whereas it is comparatively easy to bring pressure on a few hundred congressmen, it is an entirely different matter to swing a majority of the people of the United States into line for a war they were going to have to fight and finance at the same time. This proposal would go a long way toward guaranteeing that the next war would not be a "rich man's war."

(f) Finally, let the Church of Jesus Christ announce it as a major conviction that war is the supreme sin against human personality, and as such the Church can never be expected to bless another war, or make its pulpits recruiting stations.

This does not mean that the Church proposes to sabotage the next war, but that it owes an obligation to Jesus Christ that is superior, even, to its obligation to the government under which it lives. It means that though our money may belong to our government, and even our bodies may be conscripted, OUR SOULS BELONG TO GOD.

Such a declaration on the part of the Church, before hostilities break out, will warn the advocates of war, in advance, of just what they may expect of the Church. If they vote for war they cast their ballots with their eyes open to the prospect of fighting that war without the support of the Church.

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It is not claimed that this six-point program will absolutely prevent the United States' entry into the conflict if the world wars again, but it is claimed that it will go far toward assuring the people of this divinely-blessed land, that their participation in the war will be purely defensive, profitless and free from financial dictatorship, and that the burden of the war will be as equitably distributed as possible, among those best able to bear it.

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